

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 02815 011817Z

ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4672

INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 2815

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, UR, US, SHUM

SUBJECT: SOVIETS PROTEST EMBASSY'S CONTACTS WITH SAKHAROV

BEGIN SUMMARY: DEPUTY MINISTER KORNIYENKO SUMMONED  
AMBASSADOR 1600 HOURS MARCH 1 NOMINALLY "TO DISCUSS  
RESPONSE TO EMBASSY'S DECEMBER 14 CSCE DEMARCH "AND OTHER  
MATTERS". PRINCIPAL PURPOSE, HOWEVER, WAS TO DELIVER NON-PAPER  
(TEXT OF WHICH FOLLOWS) WHICH PROTESTS "PROVOCATIVE" ROLE  
OF EMBASSY PERSONNEL IN CONTACTING AND ALLEGEDLY  
INSTIGATING AND ENCOURAGING HOSTILE ACTIVITIES OF  
SAKHAROV, AN "ENEMY OF SOVIET STATE", AND INSISTS ON  
CESSATION OF SUCH ACTIVITIES, "FULL RESPONSIBILITY  
FOR WHICH FALLS ON EMBASSY." AMBASSADOR INSISTED THAT OUR  
CONTACTS WITH SAKHAROV WERE MADE UNDER INSTRUCTIONS FROM  
WASHINGTON TO DELIVER PRESIDENT'S LETTER AND WERE, THEREFORE,  
LEGITIMATE ACTIONS WHICH WE WOULD CONTINUE IF SO INSTRUCTED. DURING  
HEATED EXCHANGE, KORNIYENKO CHARACTERIZED PRESIDENT'S LETTER  
AS INTERFERENCE IN SOVIET INTERNAL AFFAIRS, BUT HELD BACK FROM  
CHARACTERIZING PRESIDENT'S ACTIONS AS SUCH.

1. MID-MORNING OF MARCH 1 MFA CONTACTED EMBASSY TO REQUEST  
AMBASSADOR CALL ON DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER KORNIYENKO AT 1600  
HOURS TO DISCUSS EMBASSY'S DECEMBER 14 CSCE DEMARCHE (REPORTED  
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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 02815 011817Z

SEPARATELY) "AND OTHER MATTERS." KORNIYENKO OPENED BY SOLOMNL  
READING TEXT OF NON-PAPER, INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF WHICH FOLLOWS:

2. "THE USSR MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS CONSIDERS IT  
NECESSARY TO STATE THE FOLLOWING TO THE AMERICAN EMBASSY.

"IN THE PAST, THE ATTENTION OF THE EMBASSY HAS BEEN CALLED

TO THE FACT THAT CONTACTS BETWEEN ITS MEMBERS AND A.D. SAKHAROV ARE IMPROPER AND DO NOT MEET THE INTERESTS OF IMPROVING SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS. IT WAS ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT THE SOVIET SIDE WOULD REGARD THE CONTINUATION OF THESE CONTACTS AS INCITEMENT OF SAKHAROV TO ACTIVITIES HOSTILE TO THE SOVIET UNION.

"HOWEVER, THE FACTS HAVE SHOWN THAT THE EMBASSY DID NOT DRAW THE APPROPRIATE CONCLUSIONS FROM THIS WARNING. ON THE CONTRARY, IT HAS BECOME KNOWN TO THE MINISTRY THAT MEMBERS OF THE EMBASSY HAVE RECENTLY ACTIVATED THEIR CONTACTS WITH SAKHAROV. THEY ORGANIZE MEETINGS WITH HIM, INCLUDING IN THE EMBASSY ITSELF. THESE CONTACTS HAVE BECOME ONE OF THE MAIN CHANNELS FOR THE DISSEMINATION OF SAKHAROV'S SLANDEROUS FABRICATIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE SOVIET UNION. IN FACT, MEMBERS OF THE EMBASSY ACTIVELY ENCOURAGE THIS RENEGADE, WHO HAS DECLARED HIMSELF TO BE AN ENEMY OF THE SOVIET STATE AND AN OPPONENT OF THE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, AND OF HIS ILLEGAL AND MALICIOUS ACTIVITY. SUCH ACTIONS BY OFFICIAL DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTE A GROSS VIOLATION OF ACCEPTED INTERNATIONAL NORMS, OF PRINCIPLED AGREEMENTS AND UNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES; THEY ARE COMPLETELY INADMISSIBLE.

"THE USSR MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS DECLARES ITS PROTEST TO THE AMERICAN EMBASSY OVER THE PROVOCATIVE ROLE OF AMERICAN DIPLOMATS WHO INCITE SAKHAROV TOWARD HOSTILE CONDUCT WITH RESPECT TO THE SOVIET STATE AND INSISTS THAT SUCH ACTIVITIES, FOR WHICH THE EMBASSY BEARS FULL RESPONSIBILITY, CEASE."

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 MOSCOW 02815 011817Z

3. CHARACTERIZING STATEMENT AS VERY UNPLEASANT, AMBASSADOR SAID THAT THE ALLEGATIONS CONTAINED THEREIN WERE WITHOUT FOUNDATION; OUR RECENT CONTACTS WITH SAKHAROV WERE COMPLETELY LEGITIMATE AND FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF DELIVERING TO HIM, ON INSTRUCTIONS, THE PRESIDENT'S FEBRUARY 5 LETTER. AS SUCH, THESE CONTACTS WERE PERFECTLY DEFENSIBLE. THE AMBASSADOR, THEREFORE, TOOK STRONG ISSUE WITH ALLEGATIONS OF INCITEMENT AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF SAKHAROV BY EMBASSY PERSONNEL AS COMPLETELY UNFOUNDED.

4. KORNIYENKO SAID INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS OF USG INCLUDING INSTRUCTIONS TO EMBASSY WERE OUR AFFAIR, BUT THE SOVIET POSITION ON THE ACCEPTABILITY OF EMBASSY CONTACTS WITH SAKHAROV HAD BEEN MADE CLEAR TO AMBASSADOR STOESSEL BACK IN 1975 AND THE EMBASSY THEREFORE HAD TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THESE CONTACTS. HE CALLED ATTENTION TO "AGREEMENTS" ON NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS GOING BACK TO THE ROOSEVELT-LITVINOV CORRESPONDENCE AND SUBSEQUENT DOCUMENTS.

5. AMBASSADOR SAID SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S CHARACTERIZATION OF

SAKHAROV WAS THEIR BUSINESS, BUT EMBASSY'S ACTIVITIES IN CONTACTING HIM WERE AMBASSADOR'S BUSINESS, AND HE AGAIN VIGOROUSLY PROTESTED SOVIET CHARACTERIZATIONS OF EMBASSY ACTIVITIES AS INCITING SAKHAROV'S ALLEGEDLY HOSTILE BEHAVIOR. SAKHAROV HAD BEEN ACTING ON HIS OWN INITIATIVE, NOT OURS, AND, IN ANY CASE, WAS PERFECTLY CAPABLE OF FORMULATING AND EXPRESSING HIS OWN OPINIONS; THE EMBASSY HAD ACTED PRIMARILY AS A POST OFFICE FOR DELIVERING THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER. WHEN KORNIYENKO ASSERTED THAT THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER ALSO ENCOURAGED SAKHAROV TO TAKE HOSTILE ACTIONS, THE AMBASSADOR ASKED "ARE YOU SAYING THAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IS ENCOURAGING SAKHAROV TO BE HOSTILE?"

5. DODGING THE QUESTION, KORNIYENKO SAID HE DID NOT WANT TO BE DRAWN INTO THAT SORT OF ARGUMENT, BUT THAT THE EMBASSY'S ACTIONS CONSTITUTED UNWARRANTED INTERFERENCE AND MUST CEASE.

6. THE AMBASSADOR REPLIED IF KORNIYENKO WAS SAYING EMBASSY  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 MOSCOW 02815 011817Z

MUST CEASE CONTACTS WHICH WE WERE UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO MAKE, THEN HIS ANSWER WAS THAT WE WOULD CONTINUE TO MAKE SUCH CONTACTS WHICH WE CONSIDERED LEGITIMATE.

7. KORNIYENKO WOUND UP BY STATING THAT OBVIOUSLY THE  
MAJOR QUESTION BETWEEN US WAS "WHAT IS LEGITIMATE?"

8. COMMENT: EMBASSY VIEWS ON IMPORT KORNIYENKO'S NON-PAPER  
AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS FOLLOW SOONEST.  
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